THE LIBERATOR

"COMRADES LET US ALL UNITE."

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PETER KROPOTKIN

His Lecture on "Anarchy in the Evolution of Socialism," Delivered to the Paris Working People.

Fellow citizens: You have unquestionably asked many a time how Anarchy came to exist? Why, with so many other schools of socialism in existence, yet another was founded, the Anarchistic school? This is the question I propose to answer. And, that I may the better answer it, permit me to carry you with me to the end of the last century.

You know what were the characteristics of that epoch. Expansion of thought; prodigious development of the natural sciences; pitiless criticism of established prejudices; first attempts to explain nature by the truly scientific methods of observation, experience, and reason.

On the other hand, criticism of those political institutions which had been bequeather to humanity by preceding centuries; advance toward that ideal of liberty, of equality, and of fraternity which has ever been the ideal of the masses.

Hindered by despotism and by the narrow selfishness of the privileged classes from developing itself freely, that movement, aided and favored at the same time by the explosion of the people's wrath, gave birth to the great revolution which had to cut itself a path in the midst of a thousand difficulties at home and abroad.

The revolution was vanquished but the ideas it begot survived. Persecuted, despised at first they have become the watchword of a whole century of gradual evolution. The whole history of the nineteenth century, when you sum it up, has been one long attempt to put into practice the principles formulated at the close of the last century. Such is the fate of all revolutions. Themselves vanquished, they dictate the evolution that is to follow them.

In the domain of politics these ideas are the abolition of the privileges of the aristocracy, the suppression of personal government, equality of the law. In the domain of economics the revolution declares for free trade. All of you, every one of you—it says—freely buy and sell; sell your products, if you are able to produce; and, if you lack the necessary tools, if you have only your arms to sell, sell them, sell your labor to the highest bidder. The state will not interfere! Fight it out among yourselves, you employers! A fair field and no favors. Natural selection will see to it that those who are not abreast of the times bite the dust, that those who are in advance of it are duly rewarded.

That, look you, was at least the theory of the revolution of the third estate. And if the state intervenes to favor some to the injury of others—of which, in these latter days, we have seen enough when discussing mining and railroad monopolies — the 'liberal school regards it as a regrettable departure from the great principles of revolution, an abuse which must be rectified.

The result? Unhappily you know it too well, fellow citizens, you who meet in this reception-room tonight. Idle opulence for the few, uncertainty as to the morrow, misery for the many; crises, wars for the control of markets; states spending money like madmen to procure an outlet for their manufacturers' products.

Simply because, while declaring for free trade, our fathers neglected one important point. Not that they did not see it; the best of them expressly wished it to be made, but they did not dare to make it. The omission lay in declaring for free trade—that is to say, the right of the individual members of any society to contend among themselves—and neglecting to place equal powers at the disposition of society at large, so that the strong, armed for the strife from their fathers' armory, have waged it against the feeble and defenseless. The millions of the poor when pitted against the wealthy minority were bound to become their prey.

Fellow citizens! You have asked yourselves this question: Whence come the fortunes of the rich? Is it from their labor? A poor joke in truth would such an answer be. Granted that M. de Rothschild had toiled all his life. But so have you, each one of the workers in this reception-room. Why, then, does the Rothschild fortune count itself by the hundreds of millions and yours by so paltry a figure?

The answer is simple enough. It is that you have aplied yourselves to producing, while M. Rothschild has applied himself to gathering the fruit of others toil. That is all there is about it.

But how comes it, I may be asked, that millions of men are found to let the Rothschilds and Mackays seize upon the fruit of their toil? The answer is simple: in their helplessness they could not do otherwise.

Imagine a city in which every inhabitant—provided he produces something of general utility—has shelter, clothing, food and work assured to him; and suppose a Rothschild landing there with a barrel of gold.

If he spends his gold the barrel will quickly disappear. If he shuts it up under lock and key it will not burst the barrel, for gold does not grow as your French beans do, and at the end of a year our Rothschild will not find 110 louis in his drawer if he only put in 100. And if he starts a factory and proposes to the inhabitants that they work there, receiving 5 francs a day for every 10 that they produce, he will be answered "Sir, you will not find any of our people willing to work on these terms! Go elsewhere, look for a city whose wretched inhabitants have neither work, nor clothing, nor bread assured, and who will agree to give up to you the lion's share of their products if you will give them the wherewithal to purchase bread. Go where there are men and women dying of hunger! There you will make your fortune!"

The source of the fortunes of the rich is your helplessness! Once do away with that and you have done with millionaires.

Now, it was this that the revolution of last century could not or would not understand. It brought face to face on the one hand the former serfs, the starving, and the naked, and on the other hand those who were already in possesion of fortunes. It said to them: Compete with one another! And the helpless succumbed. They had no fortune, but they had something far more valuable than all the gold in the world—their arms. And these arms—this source of all wealth—were enslaved by the rich.

So we have seen the rise of those huge fortunes which are the special characteristic of our century. A king of the last century, "the great Louis XIV," of our salaried historians, would he ever have dared to dream of the fortunes of our nineteenth century kings, the Vanderbilts and the Mackays?

And on the other hand we have seen the helpless forced more and more to toil for others; those who produce for their own consumption disappearing more and more; and daily are we further condemned to labor for the enrichment of the rich.

Attempt has been made to obviate these disasters. It has been said: Let us educate all alike. And the school-master has gone abroad. Better human machines have been turned out, but the educated machines toil always for the enrichment of others. The illustrious savant, the renowned novelist, in spite of all his education, of all his talent, is still beast of burden to the capitalist. The value of the exploitable cattle is enhanced by the education they receive, but the exploitation continues.

One is naturally led here to the discussion of co-operation. But it is quickly seen that when the penniless co-operate they are stranded for want of capital. And the very men who cherished the greatest number of illusions upon this subject have been compelled at last to come to socialism.

Timid at the start, socialism spoke at first in the name of sentiment, of christian morality. Men profoundly imbued with the moral side of christianity—the fundamental truths of human morality which religions still retain—stepped forward and said: "The christian has no right to exploit his brother!" But their hearers answered, laughing in their sleeves: "Teach the people christian resignation; tell the people in the name of Christ that they ought to turn the left cheek to him who smites them on the right—you will be welcomed! As for the dreams of equality that you discover in christianity, go and meditate on your discoveries in the prison cell."

At a later stage socialism spoke in the name of governmental metaphysics. Since the state, it said, has for its special mission the protection of the weak from the strong, it is its duty to subsidize working men's societies. The state of itself can give working men's associations the power of contending with capital, and opposing to the exploitation of the capitalist the free organization of workers who pocket the full proceeds of their toil. These the bourgeoisie answered with the mitraillade of June, 1848.

And it was only between twenty and thirty years afterward, when the masses were invited to the International Association of Working Men, that socialism spoke in the name of the people; it was from that hour that, formulating itself, little by little, in the congresses of the great association, and later in the musings of those who continued the association's work, it arrived at this conclusion:

All accumulated wealth is the product of the toil of all—of all the existing generation and of all the generations that preceded it. This house in which we are now met together owes its value to its being situate in Paris—this superb city upon which twenty generations have spent their labor. Transport it to the snows of Siberia and its value would be next to nothing. That machine you have invented and patented has in it the intelligence of five or six generations; it is valuable only as a part of that immense whole that we call the industry of the nineteenth century. Transport your lace-making machine to the papuas of New Guinea, and there its value will be nothing. Finally, this book, this work of genius that you have composed, we defy you, genius of our century as you are, to point out the precise part of your superb deductions that is due to your intelligence! Things tangible? A whole generation has toiled to accumulate them. Ideas? It is, perhaps, the locomotive furrowing the fields that has suggested them to you. The beauty of form? It is by admiring the Venus of Milo or the work of Murillo that you have discovered it. And if your book exercises some influence over us it is thanks to the general effect of our civilization. All belongs to all! And we defy any man, no matter who he be,

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THE ANARCHIST SPEECHES

In No. 16 of The Liberator were commenced the publication of the speeches of the Anarchists, delivered in court in Chicago on Oct. 7, 8 and 9, 1887, when asked why sentence of death should not be pronounced upon them. These speeches are their reply. It was their last message to the world and must prove interesting and instructive reading to the most prejudiced as well as the sympathetic. Instructive to the prejudiced-minded, because no person capable of clear reasoning powers can read these speeches and lay them down, and then, allowing the innermost recesses of his heart to speak, he must say, "Those men were innocent of the crime for which they suffered death." They were victims of class hatred.

AUGUST SPIES' SPEECH.

(Continued from last week.)

"Everywhere, wherever we cast our eyes, we find forced upon our attention the unnatural and injurious effects of unregulated private production. We see how one man, or a number of men have not only brought into the embrace of their private ownership a few inventions in technical lines, but have also confiscated for their exclusive advantage all natural powers, such as water steam, and electricity. Every fresh invention, every discovery belongs to them. The world exists for them only. That they destroy their fellow-beings right and left they little care. That, by their machinery, they even work the bodies of little children into gold pieces they hold to be an especially good work and a genuine Christian act. They murder as we have said, little children and women by hard labor, while they let the strong men go hungry for lack of work.

"People ask themselves how such things are possible, and the answer is that the **competitive system** is the cause of it. The thought of a co-operative, social, rational, and well-regulated system of management irresistibly impresses the observer. The advantages of such a system are of such a convincing kind, so patent to observation—and where could there be any other way out of it? According to physical laws a body always moves itself, consciously or unconsciously, along the line of least resistance. So does society as a whole. The path to co-operative labor and distribution is leveled by the concentration of the means of labor under the private capitalistic system. We are already moving right in that track. We cannot retreat even if we would. The force of circumstances drives us on to Socialism.

" 'And now, Mr. S., won't you tell us how you are going to carry out the expropriation of the possessing classes?' asked Rev. Dr. Scudder.

" 'The answer is in the thing itself. The key is furnished by the storms raging through the industrial life of the present. You see how penuriously the owners of the factories, of the mines, cling to their privileges, and will not yield the breadth of an inch. On the other hand, you see the half-starved proletarians driven to the verge of violence.'

" 'So your remedy would be violence?'

" 'Remedy? Well, I should like it better if it could be done without violence, but you, gentlemen, and the class you represent, take care that it cannot be accomplished otherwise. Let us suppose that the workingmen of today go to their employers, and say to them: 'Listen! Your administration of affairs don't suit us any more; it leads to disastrous consequences. While one part of us are worked to death, the others, out of employment, are starved to death; little children are ground to death in the factories, while strong, vigorous men remain idle; the masses live in misery while a small class of respectables enjoy luxury and wealth; all this is the result of your maladministrations, which will bring misfortune even to yourselves; step down and out now; let us have your property, which is nothing but unpaid labor; we shall take this thing in our hands now; we shall administrate matters satisfactorily, and regulate the institutions of society; voluntarily we shall pay you a life-long pension. Now, do you think the 'bosses' would accept this proposition? You certainly don't believe it. Therefore force will have to decide—or do you know of any other way?'

"So you are organizing a revolution?"

It was shortly before my arrest, and I answered: "Such things are hard to organize. A revolution is a sudden upwelling—a convulsion of the fevered masses of society.

"We are preparing society for that, and insist upon it that workingmen should arm themselves and keep ready for the struggle. The better they are armed the easier will the battle be, and the less the bloodshed.

" 'What would be the order of things in the new society?'

" 'I must decline to answer this question, as it is, till now, a mere matter of speculation. The organization of labor on a co-operative basis offers no difficulties. The large establishments of today might be used as patterns. Those who will have to solve these questions will expediently do it, instead of working according to our prescriptions (if we should make anything of the kind); they will be directed by the circumstances and conditions of the time, and these are beyond our horizon. About this you needn't trouble yourselves.'

" 'But, friend, don't you think that about a week after the division, the provident will have all, while the spendthrift will have nothing?'

" 'The question is out of order,' interfered the Chairman; 'there was not said anything about division.'

"Prof. Wilcox: "Don't you think the introdutcion of Socialism will destroy all individuality?'

" 'How can anything be destroyed which does not exist? In our times there is no individuality; that only can be developed under Socialism, when mankind will be independent economically. Where do you meet today with real individuality? Look at yourselves, gentlemen! You don't dare to give utterance to any subjective opinion which might not suit the feelings of your bread-givers and customers. You are bypocrites (murmurs and indignation); every business man is a hypocrite. Everywhere is mockery, servility, lie and fraud. And the laborers! There you feign anxiety about their individuality; about the individuality of a class that has been degraded to machines—used each day for ten or twelve hours as appendages of the lifeless machines! About their individuality you are anxious!'

"Does that sound as though I had at that time, as has been imputed to me, organized a revolution—a so-called social revolution, which was to occur on or before the 1st of May to establish Anarchy in place of our present "ideal order?" I guess not.

"So Socialism does not mean the destruction of society. Socialism is a constructive and not a destructive science. While capitalism expropriates the masses for the benefit of the privileged class; while capitalism is that school of economics which teaches how one can live upon the labor (i. e., property) of the other; Socialism teaches how all may possess property, and further teaches that every man must work honestly for his own living, and not be playing the "respectable board of trade man," or any other highly (?) respectable business man or banker, such as appeared here as talesmen in the jurors' box, with the fixed opinion that we ought to be hanged. Indeed, I believe they have that opinion! Socialism, in short, seeks to establish a universal system of co-operation, and to render accessible to each and every member of the human family the achievements and benefits of civilization, which, under capitalism, are being monopolized by a privileged class and employed, not as they should be, for the common good of all, but for the brutish gratification of an avaricious class. Under capitalism the great inventions of the past, far from being a blessing for mankind, have been turned into a curse! Under Socialism the prophecy of the Greek poet, Antiporas, would be fulfilled, who, at the invention of the first watermill, exclaimed: "This is the emancipator of male and female slaves"; and likewise the prediction of Aristotle, who said: "When, at some future age, every tool, upon command or by predestination, will perform its work as the art-works of Daedalus did, which moved by themselves, or like the three feet of Hephaestus, which went to their sacred work instinctively, when thus the weaver shuttles will weave by themselves, then we shall no longer require masters and slaves." Socialism says this time has come, and can you deny it? You say: "Oh, these heathens, what did they know?" True! They knew nothing of political economy; they knew nothing of christendom. They failed to conceive how nicely these man - emancipating machines could be employed to lengthen the hours of toil and to intensify the burdens of the slaves. These heathens, yes, they excused the slavery of one on the ground that thereby another would be afforded the opportunity of human development. But to preach the slavery of the masses in order that a few rude and arrogant parvenues might become "eminent manufacturers," "extensive packing-house owners," or "influential shoe-black dealers," to do this they lacked that specific Christian organ.

Socialism teaches that the machines, the means of transportation and communication are the result of the combined efforts of society, past and present, and that they are therefore rightfully the indivisible property of society, just the same as the soil and the mines and all natural gifts should be. This declaration implies that those who have appropriated this wealth wrongfully, though lawfully, shall be expropriated by society. The expropriation of the masses by the monopolists has reached such a degree that the expropriation of the expropriateurs has become an imperative necessity, an act of social self-preservation.

Society will reclaim its own, even though you erect a gibbet on every street corner. And An-

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Personalities will be rigidly excluded; we are working for the good of humanity at large.

THE LIBERATOR NEEDS YOUR HELP.

We want to state plainly to friends, comrades and subscribers that The Liberator needs money, and needs it badly. We have no source of support except that which comes to us through subscriptions, and what groups send in. There has been a falling in receipts for the month of December, owing, possibly to persons saving to give presents and socials during the holidays. But our expenses are going right along—printer's bills, etc., have to be promptly met. Now we have a plan to suggest. It is this: If every subscriber will send in a small donation, say from a 10 cent postage stamp up to as many stamps as they can afford, it will help the paper immensely, and we believe the subscribers will not feel it. A few hundred 10-cent stamps count in the total, or say twelve 2-cent stamps will lift a little debt which we have to meet. There is nothing to be gained by disguising the fact that the paper is badly in need of funds. Now who will be the first to send in stamps?

CRIME AND VIOLENCE.

Under the head of "Crime and Violence in 1905" a capitalist paper of this city gives some very interesting statistics:

"The record of homicides and of deaths occurring from various forms of violence during 1905 is not an encouraging one. It is impossible to make any record, which shall have the exactness of an official statement, from telegraph reports to the newspapers and it should be remembered also that The Tribune's record includes every species of violence. The approximate number of such deaths during the year now closing was 9,212, an increase of 730 over 1904. The most discouraging feature of the report is the continued increase of murders committed by burglars, thieves, and hold-up men. The number in 1905 was 582, as compared with 464 in 1904."

It will be seen that crimes committed in the attempt to get possession of other people's property (illegally) are in the increase.

Is this fact, sad as it is, without a cause. Would any considerable number of those people hazard their own lives in the attempt to sieze other people's property if they could obtain all that is necessary for comforts by a few hours' labor per day? Society first robs them of the means of life, then they turn on society and rob it of its life. It is a mere matter of cause and effect. The rich rascals hold the people up, legally, for millions, and thereby rob them of happiness and life. Poor rascals hold them up illegally, and rob them of a few dollars and sometimes take a life. They are called criminals; the other is a respectable member of society.

It makes all the difference in the world the size of the pile you take and the method by which you take life, under which head you will be listed.

The only remedy which the upholders of the present social order have to propose is the prison and the hangman, but if these were effective remedies, we would all be saints by this time, for these so-called remedies ante date history.

The fact of the matter is, the hell-fire racket doesn't frighten any one now as it did in the "good old days," and those few who do still believe in the hell-fire racket only have to get a sanctimonious hypocrite to furnish them a free transport from the gallows to the open gates of Paradise, although they go with hands red with innocent blood. No, punishment is not a preventive of crime as the following quotation from the same statistics show that "murders have increased. In 1885 the number of murders reported was 1,808 and the number of hangings was 108, while in 1905 the number of murders reported was 9,212 and the number of legal executions 133. Does hanging decrease the crime of murder? In proportion to population Pennsylvania has a larger number of homicides than other northern states, but more murders are hanged there every year than in any other northern state, excepting Ohio in some years."

Conditions make the man, not the man the conditions. Some day when society has grown wise enough and just enough to make conditions pleasurable for her children they will not be possessed of those low, brutal propensities which cause them to imbrue their hands in their brother's blood, but those who say these things are sneered at as "cranks and dreamers." So let it be; let the dreamer dream on, his dream will be realized some day, then that generation will look back at us of today, their ancestors, as a lot of barbarians. It was ever thus; the dream of one century, if it contained truth and justice, became the actuality of the next century. * * *

But the year 1905 with all its boasted prosperity (for the few), has a still sadder picture to present than the above. This is her suicide list.

"Suicide also continues to increase, the number of cases in 1905 being 9,982, as compared with 9,240 in 1904. The percentage of women who have committed suicide has increased. Last year there were nearly three times as many men as women, but this year there have been a little less than twice as many. It is appalling that suicide increases so rapidly. Despondency is the one great cause — despondency from sickness, life-failure, non-employment, bad luck, fatigue of living, and sometimes the conviction that life is not worth living."

Life, the "best boon to mortals given." To be, to feel the inspiring, vibrating currents of beautiful, bountiful Mother Nature playing all around us, through us; to feel oneself a part of a grand, magnificent whole, an entirity. Who could wish for more? Yet there are thousands who rush (one every 18 hours, our coroner inform us) out into the Great Unknown because they cannot longer endure the conditions of what ought to be a pleasant abiding place for man, but in his greed he has made of it a veritable hell!

L. E. P.

"PROSPERITY" AND POVERTY.

Ten thousand hungry, poverty-stricken people stood for hours in line on Christmas day waiting to be given one meal at a single charity hall. These people were all needy, because none were admitted without a ticket which had been issued to them by some charity agent who could vouch for their needy condition.

When it comes to be considered that this was at only one place of distribution, we can form some idea of the abject poverty in the midst of our boasted "prosperity."

WHY SHOULD I GO BACK?

(By Horace Traubel.)

Why should I go back? Do you think a piece of justice is better than the whole of justice? If I felt that by going back I could get a bigger thing than the thing for which I am going forward I would go back. But I know that life would get smaller in the compromise. I do not throw back discouraging cries to those who are slower to come on. I cry back to them all the reassurances I can. But I cannot return to the old estate. Its bribes no longer tempt me. What would I gain by retreat? I know what your argument is. And your argument is honest for you. But I hear the call to advance. What have the little things to offer a man after the big light has broken full into his face? I have seen too much. I am satisfied with the defeats until the time comes for a real victory. I am not hungry for successes. I am only hungry for success. I do not say that municipal ownership and single tax and so forth are nothing. I do say they are not enough. I am glad you have got that far, you who have got that far. But I expect to see you keep right on. You will never hear me taunt you because you just see a little way and then stop seeing. Your eyes will get stronger. You will yet see to the world of the commune. You will stop at the half-way houses to rest, maybe. But you will never feel thoroughly at home until you reach the whole-way house. You will not be contented when you have cut off a little of your interests and your rents and your profits. Your little will lead to a little more. And the little more will lead to a little more. And in the end you will perceive that your own argument is, if logically enforced, an argument of complete restitution. Why should I who see this already go back to you who may not see it for some time? What a waste of life it would be for me to forget the whole in one of its parts? You see private property restricted. I see it all gone. You call upon me to be practical. The practical man is the man who knows the law and declares for the law. Not the man who fools with a weapon that he does not understand. Your instinct is as decent as mine. But you do not know what you are about. I do know what I am about. Is the practical man the man who compromises? That depends. He may just as well be the man who holds out for full pay. I demand of society the full pay of the workman. Do you maintain that full pay is not practical? Full pay is not practical as long as only one man asks for it. But when many men or most men ask for it it instantly becomes practical and its demand is met with surrender. I am working to make full pay practical. I am not going back to work in any camp of deluding truce. I submit to no parleys. I stand out for full pay. I can take full pay today if I can get it. I can wait many days for full pay if many days must be waited for the sacred result. But meanwhile I will stay where I am or go on. You will not find me sneaking back into the camp of the beginners. I have passed through all that. I have got the best beginners could do for me. Now I am bound to keep on the advance. Let me be despised. But let me hold up the light. Let me be a dreamer. But let my dreams help those who cannot dream. I am not eager to be counted in the number of those who are satisfied with opportunism. I am very selfish. I am very unreasonable. I want the whole result. I am not willing to part with half of what belongs to me and call the settlement just. My faith is the faith of the commune. Not the faith of a piece of heaven here and there. Not the faith of a crust off the whole divine loaf. No. The faith of the whole of heaven. The faith of the total loaf. That is my faith. I do not say you shall not work for municipal ownership. I do not say you shall not work for a system half good and half bad. Half love and half hate. I only say that while you work for compromises I work for the commune. For the entire destruction of the economic ogre. While you are trying to do what you are trying to do I shall keep to the direct road. You call me back. I hear you. I call you forward. Do you hear me? You are the present hour. I am tomorrow. I hear you. I say no. Do you hear me? Dare you say no to me? Why should you not come forward? Why should I go back?—Chicago Socialist.

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AUGUST SPIES' SPEECH.

(Continued from Page 1.)

archism, this terrible "ism," deduces that under a co-operative organization of society, under economic equality and individual independence, the "State"—the political State—will pass into barbaric antiquity. And we will be where all are free, where there are no longer masters and servants, where intellect stands for brute force, there will no longer be any use for the policemen and militia to preserve the so-called "peace and order"—the order that the Russian General speaks of when he telegraphed to the Czar after he had massacred half of Warsaw, "Peace reigns in Warsaw."

Anarchism does not mean bloodshed; does not mean robbery, arson, etc. These monstrosities are, on the contrary, the characteristic features of capitalism. Anarchism means peace and tranquility to all. Anarchism, or Socialism, means the reorganization of society upon scientific principles and the abolition of causes which produce vice and crime. Capitalism first produces these social diseases and then seeks to cure them by punishment.

The court has had a great deal to say about the incendiary character of the articles read from the Arbeiter-Zeitung. Let me read you an editorial which appeared in the Fond du Lac Commonwealth, in October, 1886, a Republican paper. If I am not mistaken the court is Republican, too.

"To arms, Republicans! Work in every town in Wisconsin for men not afraid of firearms, blood or dead bodies, to preserve peace (that is the 'peace' I have been speaking of) and quiet; avoid a conflict of parties to prevent the administration of public affairs from falling into the hands of such obnoxious men as James G. Jenkins. Every Republican in Wisconsin should go armed to the polls on next election day. The grain-stacks, houses and barns of active Democrats should be burned; their children burned and their wives outraged, that they may understand that the Republican party is the one which is bound to rule, and the one which they should vote for, or keep their vile carcasses away from the polls. If they still persist in going to the polls, and persist in voting for Jenkins, meet them on the road in the bush, on the hill, or anywhere, and shoot every one of these base cowards and agitators. If they are too strong in any locality, and succeed in putting their opposition votes into the ballot box, break open the box and tear in shreds their discord-breathing ballots. Burn them. This is the time for effective work, Yellow fever will not catch among Morrison Democrats; so we must use less noisy and more effective means. The agitators must be put down, and whoever opposes us does so at his peril. Republicans, be at the polls in accordance with the above directions and don't stop for a little blood. That which made the solid South will make a solid North."

What does your honor say to these utterances of a "law and order" organ—a Republican organ? How does the Arbeiter-Zeitung compare with this?

The book of Johann Most, which was introduced in court, I have never read, and I admit that passages were read here that are repulsive—that must be repulsive to any person who has a heart. But I call your attention to the fact that these passages have been translated from a publication of Andrieux, the ex-prefect of police, in Paris, by an exponent of your order! Have the representatives of your order ever stopped at the sacrifice of human blood? Never!

It has been charged that we (the eight here) constituted a conspiracy. I would reply to that that my friend Lingg I had seen but twice at meetings of the Central Labor Union, where I went as a reporter; had seen him but twice before I was arrested. Never spoke to him. Engle I have not been on speaking terms with for at least a year. And Fischer, my lieutenant (?) used to go round and make speeches against me. So much for that.

Your honor has said this morning, "we must learn their objects from what they have said and written," and in pursuance thereof the court has read a number of articles.

Now, if I had as much power as the court, and were a law-abiding citizen, I would certainly have the court indicted for some remarks made during this trial. I will say that if I had not been an Anarchist at the beginning of this trial I would be one now. I quote the exact language of the court on one occasion. "It does not necessarily follow that all laws are foolish and bad because a good many of them are so." That is treason, sir! if we are to believe the court and the State's Attorney. But, aside from that, I cannot see how we shall distinguish the good from the bad laws. Am I to judge of that? No! I am not. But if I disobey a bad law, and am brought before a bad judge, I undoubtedly would be convicted.

In regard to a report in the Arbeiter-Zeitung, also read this morning, the report of the Board of Trade demonstration, I would say—and this is the only defense, the only word I have to say in my own defense, is, that I did not know of that article until I saw it in the paper, and the man who wrote it, wrote it rather as a reply to some slurs in the morning papers. He was discharged. The language used in that article would never have been tolerated if I had seen it.

Now, if we cannot be directly implicated with this affair, connected with the throwing of the bomb, where is the law that says, "that these men shall be picked out to suffer"? Show me that law if you have it! If the position of the court is correct, then half of this city—half of the population of this city—ought to be hanged, because they are responsible the same as we are for that act on May 4th. And if not half of the population of Chicago is hanged, then show me the law that says, "Eight men shall be picked out and hanged as scapegoats!" You have no good law, Your decision, your verdict, our conviction is nothing but an arbitrary will of this lawless court. It is true there is no precedent in jurisprudence in this case! It is true we have called upon the people to arm themselves. It is true that we have told them time and again that the great day of change was coming. It was not our desire to have bloodshed. We are not beasts. We would not be Socialists if we were beasts. It is because of our sensitiveness that we have gone into this movement for the emancipation of the oppressed and suffering. It is true we have called upon the people to arm and prepare for the stormy times before us.

This seems to be the ground upon which the verdict is to be sustained. **"But when a long train of abuses and usurpations pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce the people under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government and provide new guards for their future safety."** This is a quotation from the "Declaration of Independence." Have we broken any laws by showing to the people how these abuses, that have occurred for the last twenty years, are invariably pursuing one object, viz.; to establish an **oligarchy** in this country as strong and powerful and monstrous as never before has existed in any country? I can well understand why that man Grinnell did not urge upon the grand jury to charge us with treason. I can well understand it. You cannot try and convict a man for treason who has upheld the Constitution against those who try to trample it under their feet. It would not have been as easy a job to do that, Mr. Grinnell, as to charge "these men" with murder.

Now, these are my ideas. They constitute a part of myself. I cannot divest myself of them, nor would I, if I could. And if you think that you can crush out these ideas that are gaining ground more and more every day, if you think you can crush them out by sending us to the gallows—if you would once more have people suffer the penalty of death because they have dared to tell the truth—and I defy you to show us where we have told a lie—I say, if death is the penalty for proclaiming the truth, then I will proudly and defiantly pay the costly price! Call your hangman! **Truth crucified in Socrates, in Christ, in Giordano Gruno, in Huss, Gallileo, still lives—they and others whose number is legion have preceded us on this path. We are ready to follow!**

(The End.)

ANARCHIST DEMANDS

Demands adopted by the International Congress of Anarchists, at Pittsburg, Pa., 1883, are as follows:

"What we would achieve is, therefore, plainly and simply:

"First—Destruction of the existing class rule by all means, i. e., by energetic, relentless, revolutionary and international action.

"Second — Establishment of a free society based upon co-operative organization of production.

"Third — Free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organizations without commerce and profit mongery.

"Fourth—Organization of education on a secular, scientific and equal basis for both sexes.

"Fifth—Equal rights for all, without distinction to sex or race.

"Sixth—Regulation of all public affairs by free Communes and associations, resting on a federalistic basis.

"Whoever agrees with this idea let him grasp our brothers' outstretched hands!"

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

Fellow-workingmen, all we need for the achievement of this great end is organization and unity!

The day has come for solidarity! Join our ranks. Let the drum beat defiantly the roll of battle! Workingmen of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to win!

We propose to allow the above demands to stand in The Liberator and we invite discussions upon their merits or demerits.

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THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA AND THE GENERAL STRIKE.

The following article, taken from London Freedom, will doubtless prove very interesting reading for some of our "safe, conservative" labor leaders in this country. We especially recommend it for their consideration.

* * *

On the whole, events in Russia are well known. Our readers follow them no doubt from day to day in the dailies. Therefore, here we will deal solely with two important facts — the general strike and the peasant revolts.

It will no doubt be remembered that after having made himself abhorred by all, as a consequence of the massacres of January 22nd last at St. Petersburg and those in Poland, as also of the police rule to which the whole empire was subjected, Nicholas II. at length resigned himself in August last, and signed the manifesto convoking the famous Duma.

The general feeling provoked by this Boulyghin Constitution was one of complete stupefaction. Russia was called upon to have elections, but with a suffrage so limited that fewer than 100,000 men in a population of 135,000,000 were to be allowed to take part in the electoral farce. The peasants were admitted to none but elections at the third degree, which would end by cooking down a population of 90,000,000 to a few thousand electors. And lastly, to crown this, the Duma was to have no rights save those of tendering advice to the autocrat. He, with his State Council, nominated by himself, would decide. In a word, it was soon evident that Russia would never be persuaded to go through this absurd and useless electoral comedy.

Matters stood there without a chance of advancing. The state of siege continued, the press dared not speak, the governors-general acted like satraps, exiling the discontented by orders which they themselves issued on their own authority, and all Russia was on fire. In Poland police officials, governors, gendarmes, and spies were killed at an average of three a week; at Baku and Nahitchevan the Tartars massacred the Armenians; in the Baltic provinces the insurrection was in permanence; at Riga and Reval regular battles were fought in the streets. Finland menaced with a general uprising; at Odessa one-half of the buildings in the port were burnt, and the heroic sailors of the "Potemkin" had mutinied. Russia was gnawing at her tether.

It was then that the great general strike broke out in October last, and at once it spurred the Revolution forward. This general strike had long since been spoken of. In February, Poland had already attempted it with success; but you know the old ditty: "Oh, such an Utopian scheme, worthy of you Anarchists. Years of organizing work are needed to prepare a general strike. To begin with, a war-chest is necessary." We all know the tune; but this is what happened. The bakers of Moscow struck, and the printers and compositors followed suit. Once again, it was not the work of the Socialist organizations. The working men themselves ceased work for the purpose of improving their conditions of life. Thereupon troops were called out; but this time the working men offered armed resistance. Three hundred bakers, armed with revolvers, barricaded themselves in a garret and fought against the Cossacks. Many of them wee killed, but as a result all the workers of Moscow ranged themselves with the strikers. Whilst the theorists were still arguing that general strikes were impossible, the workers visited all the workshops and caused all work to cease. In a few days the strike became general.

All work was suspended in the town as well as on the railroads which converge at Moscow. The city was starving. The provisions which arrived daily from the neighboring provinces were rotting along the railway lines. No bread, no water, no gas, no electricity—complete darkness reigning. No smoking factory chimneys; no tramways, no papers save the proclamations of the Strike Committee. Thousands of passengers unable to continue their journeys herded and camped, starving in the stations. For the tons of letters which accumulated, the post office was forced to rent special sheds wherein to store them. And little by little the strike spread to St. Petersburg, to the provinces, to Poland and to Finland, until all Russia was soon following the example set by Moscow.

Gradually the enthusiasm of the workers was caught by other classes. The clerks, the employes of all the commercial enterprises, the teachers, the bank assistants; then the actors, the lawyers, the chemists, the engineers even the judges made common cause with the strikers. Even the waiters from the restaurants went on strike, putting out the lights after seven o'clock.

In Finland, the house-servants received the order from the strikers that they were not to commence work before seven in the morning, and were to cease working at seven in the evening. A whole nation had thus struck against its government—all save the troops. And yet! were not officers and uniformed government officials seen at the strikers' meetings, and soldiers in the ranks of the demonstrators?

What irritated the governing classes above all was that the strikers avoided any conflict with the troops, and offered no pretext for re-establishing "order" by massacres. Thus, at Moscow, a column of strikers approached the station of the St. Petersburg railway. The strikers saw the troops. Then they immediately changed their direction, and disbanded; but fifteen minutes later the engines, sent forth at full speed, were to be seen colliding and destroying one another, while the carriages were in flames along the rails, all at a few hundred feet behind the troops!

It was only then that Nicholas II., who had been all the time consulting in turns the reactionaries and then Witte, seeing that the former would not risk their heads to save autocracy, pronounced himself in favor of Witte, and signed the manifesto of October 30th, which is in reality an abdication of autocracy.

* * *

During this strike a new force was born—the force of the workers affirming their power, and putting to work that lever of all revolutions—**direct action.**

During those days when not a paper was appearing in St. Petersburg, the Bulletin of the Council of Workers appeared daily; and the delegates of the Workers' Council, whose names and addresses were unknown, when they appeared in the streets, were listened to with perfect faith by the crowds. These delegates had been nominated by the working men, just like the revolutionary Commune of the 10th of August, and they themselves nominated their executive of eight members.

Today it is known that the 300,000 workmen of St. Petersburg are divided into groups of 500, and every group nominates a delegate. This is exactly, we see like the Central Committee which preceded the Commune, and, like their predecessors, this Council for the time being represents the revolutionary forces of the laboring classes. It may also be taken as certain that everywhere in the provinces the workers organize themselves in the same way.

As to the power of this force—it is best seen from the way in which it has abolished censorship in Russia. Thus, while Witte's functionaries were elaborating some miserable little law on the Press, the Labor delegates abolished on November 3rd censorship for the papers in the following manner: They announced in their Bulletin that "from tomorrow, if an editor continues to send his sheet before it leaves the printing office, to the censor, we shall confiscate all the copies in the streets; we shall invite the printers to leave the office, charging the strike committee to defray their losses; but if they refuse to come out, they will be boycotted and the presses of the paper will be destroyed." It was thus that preventive censorship was abolished at St. Petersburg The same methods were employed later on at Moscow, and today (November 24th) we learn that the same measures have been taken for "all books and other printed matter."

Here we have **direct action** at work. The Russian working men, by applying on a large scale the general strike and direct action, have **proved** that their Western brothers were perfectly right in recommending these two weapons for the workmen's emancipation.

True that the hitherto won victories are but political victories which have not added one ounce of either bread or meat to the scanty fare of the working man; but apparently the working men will not limit their action to these successes. Thus, whereas the **legal** day in Russia is an eleven hours' one, which means sixty-six hours per week, the Russian working men, at least in St. Petersburg, do not work more, properly speaking, than eight hours a day, and often only forty-two hours per week.

They obtain this concession by **direct action.** They do what we have ceaselessly advocated. After having done eight hours' work they say good evening to the boss and go home. The manufacturers are in despair, but since the slaughter of Red Sunday (January 22nd) **it has been impossible to force the St. Petersburg workmen to work more than eight hours a day.**

Of course an eight-hour day is yet four or five times too much for the miserable wages they get. But that victory, gained by means of direct action, is still a victory, whereas the same eight-hour day if it were obtained from a Parliament would have been a miserable compromise for men who profess Socialist principles.

* * *

A few words must now be said about that other powerful element of the Russian Revolution, the peasant revolts.

We know that the French Revolution would have terminated in smoke had not the peasant revolts continued for four or five years, until the feudal rights were abolished without redemption in June and July, 1793. The same holds good for Russia. The peasant revolts have already lasted more than a year, with but temporary abatement at harvest time, and they roll as waves over different parts of the country. In all these revolts the peasants show a remarkable unity of action, and an astonishing talent for organizing. It is the village community which decides the day on which to begin. On the given day all the peasants harness their horses to their carts and go to the proprietor. There they take out of his granaries what they need, or the necessary fuel from his forests, and then they return, maintaining throughout the best of order. If no resistance is offered, nothing else is touched. It is only when the Lord of the of the Manor calls out the troops that the peasants pillage and burn his estate; if some landlords have been killed, it is quite exceptional. It is those who protect the estates and mansions who massacre, and they have just killed more than a hundred peasants in the province of Tambov.

Everywhere the peasants declare, with wonderful unanimity that the land belongs to them and that they will take possession of it. They might pay a redemption if the landlords agree at once, but "the land must belong to us," the peasants say unanimously, and there is no doubt that they will have it.

* * *

To imagine that the government may win peasants over to its side by such concessions as a feudal or bourgeois government could make them simply foolish, and the peasant revolts will continue, and with them—the Revolution. It is also obvious that the Revolution will not be accomplished in a couple of months. It will last several years. But that which has taken place up to the present time already proves that the revolution in Russia will **take a social character.** How far it will go in this direction none can say. But the Socialist development of half a century has not been in vain. It will have its effect in the present turmoil. In any case, all the middle-class elements have already faded before the two great forces which have outlined themselves in this Revolution, the peasants and the working men in towns. And two modes of action have shown themselves in this struggle—the general strike and direct action.

It is very probable, therefore that the workers in the towns will understand the force which this latter, added to the former gives them; and very probably they will imitate the peasants in taking hold of all that which is necessary for life and production, thus cementing together the first foundations of a communist Commune.

S.

FREE THINKING AND ANARCHY.

In an International Free Thinking convention held in Paris a few months ago our comrade, Pierie Javal, and many other Anarchists attending the meetings of the convention, gave in a sparkling controversy, a positive and irrefutable definition of the Free Thinkers "sine quo Non."

According to this definition a man or woman who admits any so-called truth or axiom, a priori —that is to say—without examination, cannot be a free thinker.

Therefore the free thinker is that man or woman who admits nothing but any truth or axiom but "a posteriori"—a. e.—after a time and deep examination.

Of course the free-thinkers' search is for the spring of evil, in order to fight and suppress it: the free thinkers' aim is the truth's triumphs.

To everyone it is easy to understand that the evil's spring is ignorance. Therefore the strongest weapon of the free-thinker is knowledge, and the first step of the free-thinker's propaganda is to make the people think **by their own mind.**

Accordingly our French comrade's definition—endorsed by all Anarchists the world over—is, it is not sufficient to quality for a free-thinker to say with the great astronomer La-Place: "God is a useless hypothesis"; or as the great economist and philosopher Proudhon says: "God is the Evil," but we must, and that as a matter of course, repudiate and reject every thing that **has not** a scientific and positive basis.

All dogmas, entities, superstitions and prejudices thrown into the free-thinker's crucible in truth's laboratory are rejected as being contrary to the progress of humanity and the march of evolution, and therefore the past and all the present basis of our social organization is condemned as a whole by every true free-thinker.

Today, as formerly, the bourgeois society is based upon dogmas, entities, superstitions and prejudices—all are fruits of ignorance of the social evil.

To our present time, as in the middle ages, organized society's purpose has been the oppression of man by man, therefore in all times free-thinkers were and are persecuted by the governments most liberal as well as the most tyrannical.

Any attempt to controvert a dogma or prejudice has always been considered a crime, because the fighting of truth's propaganda against ignorance is considered the most fruitful thing for those who live upon the ignorance of others. The truth's triumphs will be the end of slavery and the beginning of human freedom.

Through free-thinkers analization, all religions, gods and prophets are rejected from the human mind, and consequently through free-thinkers must come the abolition of human slavery.

Proceeding with its work the free-thinkers revert to the divine and civic laws and to every institution derived from them, all other laws becoming dissolved in contact with Truth and evaporating in smoke.

Recapitulating his social analysis, the free-thinker says: Gods, Religions, Entities, Superstitions, in short all authority, they are but the slaves of their parents.

In the marriage the wife and husband deceive themselves and make themselves slaves to each other. The family and marriage are one of the best spokes in the wheel to perpetuate our present social system—the exploitation of man by man—and the propagation of property rights.

Religion and politics are synonomous words—they have identical purposes; prophets and politicians also both are liars, sophasists, and corruptionists. They propagate ignorance and deceive the people in order to keep them under authority's yoke. Both prophets, politicians and conservatives are synonomous with charlatans.

No difference how they unite the religions of Confucious, Brahama, Budha, Maise, Jesus, Mahomet, etc.—all have identical origin—ignorance and superstition. All have the same purpose, the conservation of our present system. No difference have they with the ideas of the monarchists, liberals, republicans or so-called socialists—all have identical origin—ignorance and cruelty; all the same purpose—the conservation of our present system.

Notwithstanding the social evils, lying, hypocricy, robbery, assassination and corruption, the basis of our free-thinking brother's belief is: No more dogmas, no more entities, down with ignorance and superstition, down with the oppression of man by man. Therefore the free-thinker cannot be a social reformist, but must be a social transformist, or a revolutionary anarchist.

Now, can a man or woman be a free-thinker if they be not an anarchist, or can a man or woman be an anarchist if not a free-thinker? Without hesitation I answer, No!

To, my mind this question is germain to this country where metaphysics prevail, as for instance doctors in theology are considered as eminent as palmists and about as popular, while both are considered respectable and highly scientific, especially when so many so-called anarchists and socialists dare not raise up their voice or life their minds above the teachings of Jesus whose existence was never proven, but whose doctrines wherever they prevailed plunged humanity into ignorance and darkness; into slavery, robbery, assassination and inquisitions and whose legends must be considered by true free-thinkers as the worst of dogmas and entities because it takes no account of the millions and millions of human beings massacred, tortured and burnt at the Inquisitor's stake.

Here in this paper if the free expression of my mind is allowed will I prove the absurdity of Christianity, and chiefly the nonsense of the Jesus doctrines, for now let me tell you that this great maxium of christianity is: "Let us love each other." It does not belong to the religion of Jesus nor to any other, but is a maxium of all free-thinkers and as old as mankind itself. This desire, "Thou shalt not kill" does not belong to the earl Leo Tolstoy nor to any prophet; it was the first step of humanity emerging from savagery.

And this motto, "Do not resist evil" is the last opinion of the supporters of our moribund society.

We true free-thinkers and Anarchists will resist the evil, because we will kill and suppress it.

Lawrence Casas.

OUR SOCIAL A GRAND SUCCESS.

The New Years' entertainment, arranged by The Liberator Group, was a success in every particular.

The old year was kicked out and the new year was welcomed in, in a most joyous fashion—in fact, everybody had a jolly good time.

Some of us were feeling rather faint-hearted about the affair, as we only had 10 days in which to arrange for it; in other words, we never thought of getting up a New Years' hop until ten days ago, and as everybody else is also arranging some entertainment on that day, we regarded it as a rather venturesome undertaking for The Liberator folks to hazard. But as The Liberator Group are a venturesome lot anyway, no task seems too hard for them to undertake, when it comes to helping the paper. As the time was short, they simply worked harder and the success was most gratifying. It is true our expenses were heavy, music alone costing us $21. It was union music and it came high, but The Liberator only patronizes the union. The program was not very elaborate, but it was most artistically rendered and greatly enjoyed by the large audience. One very attractive feature was the recitation of a poem of Edward Carpenter's by Miss Julia Machenic. Miss Schoolman favored us with two songs, rendered in a very sweet, musical voice. She also had to respond to an encore.

Comrade Johansen was in one of his happy moods and recited a witty selection which made the audience laugh most heartily. One of the most unique and enjoyable features of the evening was songs sang in French by our French comrades, men and women. They had to sing so often in response to calls from the large audience that they went home with sore throats.

The jolly good time which The Liberator Group were having on the north side, somehow floated up to the 9th floor of the Masonic Temple, where the Social Science League were holding a meeting. This proved too much for them! Lectures didn't "go," on New Years' night when such fine fun could be indulged in instead. They adjourned the meeting and came over in a body and it was the jolliest crowd in the swim. Some of them were free to admit that The Liberator people knew just how to do things right.

So delightful was the whole affair, and so well pleased are the comrades, that the enthusiastic ones are insisting that the group go right ahead at once and arrange another entertainment to take place early in February. The next number of The Liberator will in all probability be able to announce something definite regarding our next jolly hop.

Our financial success was also gratifying. We shall not be able to make a full report until next week.

If comrades in other cities would only arrange socials once a month as we do, we think they would find them most enjoyable, and would infuse a spirit of solidarity among comrades and visitors which would be very helpful to the movement, also raise money for The Liberator.

PETER KROPOTKIN.

(Continued from Page 1.)

to tell us the exact part that each has the right to claim in the social wealth. Here is an immense plant that the nineteenth century has created; here are millions of the iron slaves we call machines, which plane and saw, weave and spin for us, which decompose and recompose the raw material, and make the fabrics that are the marvel of our age. No one has any right to seize upon one of these machines and say to others: "This is mine; if you wish to use this machine for productive purposes you must pay me tribute on everything that you produce"—no more right than had the seigneur of the middle ages to say to the cultivator: "This hill, this meadow is mine and you must pay me tribute on every sheaf of wheat you garner, on every rick of hay you put up."

All belongs to all! And if man and woman contribute their portion of toil to the production of necessities they have a right to their proportion of the product of the world.

(Continued next week.)

A CORRECTION.

Dear Comrade:

Kindly add the following few words to my article on the second column on the sixth line, ending with the words, "in the shop as the": "journeyman, and this shall become," to be read before the seventh line.

Jean Spielman.

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LOVE, THE MEASURE OF THE VITAL ENERGIES OF A PEOPLE.

(By Max Nordau.)

(Continued from last week.)

Evidently because this attraction and indifference are founded on the innermost chemical properties of the beings in question and proceeds from the same sources as the organic processes of life itself. Marriage is thus a vessel in which two separate bodies, two chemical individualities, are enclosed together. If there is an affinity between them the vessel of life is full; if there is none, the vessel contains death. But who enquired about affinity in modern marriage? There are only two kinds of relations between man and woman: those which were produced by a natural mutual attraction, and have and always have reproductions as their aim and purpose, consciously or unconsciously, and those in which this aim is not the principal one, which are merely the gratification of selfishness in some of its many phases. The first kind is justificable and moral, the latter comes within the limits of prostitution, no matter how moral it may appear on the outside.

I ask wherein lies the difference between the man who is being supported by the woman who loves him and the man who is wooing an heiress or the daughter of some influential man for whom he does not experience the slightest love? And wherein lies the difference between the wretched creature who sells herself to some stranger for a trifling amount, and the blushing bride who is united before the altar to some unloved individual who offers her in return for her companionship social rank and dresses, ornaments and servants, or even merely for her daily bread? The motives are the same in both cases, the actions the same; their names, according to truth and justice, should be the same. A mother may be respected by every one as entitled to the highest esteem, she may consider herself a model of extreme morality, and yet when she introduces some wealthy suitor to her daughter and tries to overcome her natural indifference to him by judicious persuasion and advice, somewhat after this fashion: that it would be very foolish to throw away such a chance for a comfortable provision for the future; that it would be in the highest degree imprudent to wait for a second opportunity which might never arrive; that a maiden ought to think of practical things and get all the silly rubbish of romantic love stories out of her head—with a little hoard of maxims preaching down her daughter's heart—this model mother is an infamous go-between, no more nor no less than an old hag who whispers corrupt counsel into the ear of some poor working girl in the park and is punished by the laws when found out. The elegant young bachelor, such a welcome guest in the drawing rooms of society, hunting for a match in the mazes of the German, until he finds some wealthy heiress to whom he can pay court with melting glances and tenderly modulated tones, who puts off his creditors until the day after the wedding and portions off his mistress from his bride's dowry—is not his degredation as deep as any low wretch whom he would not touch without gloves? A woman who sells herself to buy bread for an aged mother or her child, stands upon a higher moral plane than the blushing maiden who marries a money-bag, in order to gratify her frivulous appetite for balls and travel. Of the two men, he is the less deceived, the more logical and rational, who pays his companion of an hour in cash time, than he who gets a companion for life by the marriage contract, whose society was purchased as much as in the former case. Every alliance between man and woman in which either one is influenced by the selfish advantages to be gained by it, is prostitution, whether it has been sanctioned by the justice of the peace or the parson, or not.

But this is the character of almost all marriages; the rare, exceptional cases in which a man or a woman are united in a legitimate way without any other reason or desire than to belong to each other in love, are condemned, and young persons are cautioned not to imitate them. Poor girls and those only moderately provided for, are carefully warned by their parents to stifle the dangerous impulses of their hearts to gauge the sweetness of their smiles by the figure of the bachelor's income. When this artificial coquetry is not sufficient alone to catch a husband whose reliability in regard to his income can be depended upon, the mother and the aunts rally to the rescue and back up the innocent child's efforts with crafty manœuvers. The case is different where rich girls are concerned. They are not the hunters, but the game. A certain class of men are trained and drilled for the chase of dowry, and go regularly to work according to fixed rules. They wear trousers and vests of immaculate cut, cravats of a carefully selected color and shape, and carry an eye-glass screwed into one eye. Hours are spent in arranging their hair and mustache. A delicate perfume surrounds them; they dance superbly, are thoroughly at home in all society games, rhapsodize on all sporting matters and are thoroughly versed in theatrical gossip. At a later stage of the game they distribute boquets and bonbons, and love letters in prose and verse are evolved. By these means the golden pheasant is soon brought down, and the simple creature who imagined she had been playing a role in a lyric drama, discovers too late that she has been employed as a factor in an arithmetical calculation. When both parties to the marriage possess about the same amount of fortune and position in life, these are counted, compared and measured beforehand. In such case no trouble is taken to disguise or conceal in the slightest, the true motives of the marriage and the real comprehension of its significance. Two fortunes, two positions, two influences, are united.

The man wants a wife to get his dinner for him or to sew on his buttons, or else to wear a silk dress with elegance and preside at the head of his table; the woman wants a husband who will work for her, or else make it possible for her to go to balls and receptions and receive society in her own home. This open acknowledgment is not allowed in marriages between unequal fortunes and positions. The one or the other of the contracting parties must lie. The poor girl pretends love for the money-bag, the wooer makes a false display of love for the gold fish he has caught. Nature and truth can celebrate at least one melancholy victory: that the corrupt egotism which has diverted marriage from its natural goal, recognizes and accepts its real moral and physiological significance, by assuming in its wooing the mask of love.

What is the fate of the men and women who have become united in matrimony after this fashion? The "degenerates", the morally decayed offsprng of parents who were married in obedience to the command of material interests, conceived and born without love, brought up without tenderness, they become finally entirely incapable of love and can grow old without ever having perceived, even for one moment, the impoverishment of their inner life. The husband cultivates his palate and stomach, he becomes a connessuer in wines and cigars, his liberality wins him a favorable recognition in the demimode, his name is spoken with respect in the clubs, he dies rich in civil and social honors and if sincere would have this inscription carved upon his tomb-stone: "The love only of my life was—I, myself!" The wife invents crazy fashions, strives to surpass all her equals in insane extravagance, dreams day and night of dress, jewels, furniture and carriages, intrigues, lies and slanders other women, destroys the heart-happiness of others, impelled by fiendish envy, and is able, if the means at her command corresponds with her inclinations, to leave a broad swath of desolation and misery behind her, like an army of locusts or a pestilence. Both man and wife vegetate in a mephilit intellectual sphere, without light or inspiration. Their lives are without a single ideal. Their natures, deprived of every organ of flight, without elasticity and aspiration, crawl flat in the mire. They are germs of corruption, spreading disease wherever they go, destroying society and dying in putrifaction they have produced. "Degenerates" are found principally among the upper classes. They are at once the results and the causes of the egotistical organization of society. In society marriages are not entered into on account of love, but to obtain rank and wealth. Rank and wealth are thus maintained, but their owners decay. This is in obedience to every living organism, hence of humanity at large. The suppression of love, the enlargement of egotism which are the prevailing tendency of the upper strata of society, would lead to the speedy decay of the race if they became universal.

CORRESPONDENCE

Spring Valley, Ill.

Comrade Parsons:—

I send you some stamps to help you some with the paper. I admire your energy and perseverence for the existence of The Liberator, and I am very sorry to see the tendency among some of the comrades in the position they take with the "Demonstrator." I don't know the good reasons they have for the position they have taken, but I am in favor of having a paper in a big metropolitan city like Chicago; right in a center where an energetic group can carry on a good agitation and do a lot of work for a movement.

The idea of colinization is all right, but in my opinion it is a matter of secondary importance, like the co-operative stores, etc. For we can't compete with the great industrial establishments from which we must buy our supplies, hence we always get crushed.

The only direct action at the present time is to teach the people to fight against their oppressors, the owners and controllers of all the earth. If the Anarchist movement was larger, then there would be a better chance to divide themselves and make experiments in different parts of the country; but the movement being small, their efforts should be concentrated in order to keep at least one paper alive, to defend our ideas, but by dividing our forces, we cannot expect to accomplish anything.

Yours for the social revolution,
Joseph Corna

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12th Annual Ball

Given by The La Salle Political and Educational Club for the benefit of the Labor Lyceum, 25 per cent. of which is for the benefit of the Jewish Socialist paper. Saturday evening, Jan. 13, 1906 West Chicago Club House, 50 Throop St. Tickets 25 cents. Entree 8 p. m. Music, Courlanders' Orchestra.

La Salle Club, Lectures.

La Salle Club, 215 W. 12th St. Friday, Jan. 5, 8 p. m.: "Religion and Science" (Jewish), D. H. Mehlmann. Sunday, Jan. 7, 8 p. m.: "Law and Government," Thomas Morgan.

Social Science League Sunday Night Meetings.

The Social Science League public meetings every Sunday night at 8 p. m. Room 913 Masonic Temple. Speakers: Jay Fox — The Ballot or General Strike, Which?—January 7. Hulda Potter Loomis (subject announced later)—January 14. J. Howard Moore—The World is Growing Better — January 21. Jacob E. LeBosky—The Russian Situation—January 28. Free discussion after each lecture.

Dance and Social Given by Social Science League.

Do not fail to attend the social and dance given for the benefit of our paper, The Demonstrator. (We are pleased to state that The Liberator is not "our paper," but belongs to all alike.—L. E. P.) At Fohey's Hall, 235 S. Western Ave., near Van Buren St., Saturday evening, Jan. 27, 1906. Large program of entertainers. Admission 10 cents.

Lecture by B. Shlesinger.

Lecture under the auspices of The La Salle Club by B. Shlesinger. Subject: "Why Should Socialists Not Support the Industrial Workers of the World?" Jan. 12 at 8 p. m. 215 W. 12th St. All are invited.

The report of our New Years' entertainment up to time of going to press is as follows:

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